2: Batchelor M-5 (1877-1924)1927
AB6 Ainu AB6

head covered. Should anyone cut his hair, unless it be on the occasion of a death, misfortune will follow; either he himself or some of his near relations will die soon after it. So have the gods taught. Let all therefore beware."

Another legend runs thus: "In ancient times, when the Divine One came down from heaven to teach the people, he said: 'Let any woman whose husband dies cut and pluck her hair out and look very miserable. Let her also wear a hood upon her head. If she does not look sad and remain apart from other people, someone might want to marry her and that would be a very bad thing to do. No widow should allow her hair to grow long again, nor should anyone who has lost a husband or wife remarry. This is because husbands and wives rejoin one another in the world beyond the grave.'" So taught Aeoina the Divine. But, although superstitions die hard, the barber has now come in, so that this one respecting the hair is rapidly disappearing, for both young men and women now dress their hair in foreign fashion.

Apropos of this matter, it is very interesting to remark that it is reported how Satan himself once preached a sermon from the pulpit of North Berwick Church, in which he comforted his many servants by telling them that so long as their hair was on, no harm could come to them!

But speaking more particularly to the point of the general appearance of this people—one friend said to me when visiting them, "How very like the Japanese some of them are! Look at those children! Why, I see no difference between them and the Japanese boys and girls playing with them!" But this, I pointed out, was not at all to be wondered at, considering what we know about child adoption and intermarriage. Of course they resemble one another, as we find them doing throughout the whole of Japan. Adoption of Japanese children has in past ages been one great way

2: Batchelor M-5 (1877-1924) 1927
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of keeping up the numbers of this race. Without it the Ainu would have been extinct long ere this. I have known many of the women come to Sapporo, stay a day or two with us, bring in nice fat Japanese babies for us to admire, and then go off to their homes, happily carrying them with them and registering them as their own native-born Ainu children. No wonder, then, the people resemble one another in many instances.

A friend called on me one day a short time ago, who had been to see one of the Ainu villages. In the course of conversation he said, "Are not these Ainu a very sullen and taciturn people? They struck me as being so." To such a person I must say, "No, the healthy ones are far from it, being quite bright." But times are difficult with them. They have to work very hard and sometimes wonder where the next meal is coming from. It is a very hand to mouth existence with many of them. Yet life for these people is not so hard as I believe it to be for many of the poorer Japanese living in the large cities such as Tokyo or Osaka, Hakodate, or even Sapporo itself. The struggle for existence is not so great, and some of the Ainu who have seen for themselves know this to be so. It is generally hard drinking which is the great drawback and arch-enemy. Take away the drink and then the Ainu will very soon be quite a happy, contented, and well-to-do people.

2: Batchelor M-5 (1877-1924)1927
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CHAPTER XI

WOMEN AND THEIR WORK

The Ainu women, I found, rose quite early in the morning and worked assiduously all day long, and I thought it very hard on Mrs. Penri when I saw she had so much to do alone in her garden, for her adopted daughter had committed suicide and the son was quite useless. I therefore one day had a quiet talk with Penri himself on the matter, and told him I thought he ought to go and help his wife sometimes when he was not busy. But in this I soon found that I had made a mistake.

For, as has been stated in another chapter, the wife always used to look upon it as her duty and privilege to attend to her husband's wants, to till the soil and provide all the millet, vegetables, and other garden stuff. When I spoke to her husband he told me this, but I thought he might perhaps be making excuses for not turning out and doing what I supposed to be "his bit." So, one morning I went off by way of example to the lady's garden and set to work helping her with her task. But Mrs. Penri

SLING FOR CARRYING BUNDLES
1. is the top which is placed over the forehead.
2. is the lower end which rests on the lower part of the back.

2: Batchelor M-5 (1877-1924)1927
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Ari. That I cannot tell. 825

Self. If not, did an eagle find human babies somewhere, seize them with his talons and carry them off and rear them as his own?

Ari. I do not know. My people have not told me.

Self. Well, I do not see anything resembling an eagle about you. What is that on your face, a beak?

"No. It is a nose." "What is that on your head; feathers?" "No; hair." "So it is! So you have no feathers, and your voice is certainly not at all like the screech of an eagle; it is more like the growl of a bear sometimes. And I don't for a moment suppose you have ever heard of your ancestors having laid eggs, have you?" He said he had not, nor had he seen people half bird and half man. Evolution in this sense was not known to him. The end of it all was that he concluded that the Ainu, in so far as the present race is concerned, belonged to the genus homo. Mr. Ari went away quite happy and some time later became a Christian.

A few years after this, Mr. Ari came and asked me 584
to find him a wife, as he wished to make himself a home, and, he said, there were no young girls in his hamlet from whom he might choose. After a good deal of looking round, I managed to find a pure Japanese young lady who had been adopted by an Ainu woman in infancy and brought up as her own child, [304 597]
excepting that her foster parents did not tattoo her. It has been a very happy union and today they have a family of 11 children, one having died in infancy. The eldest daughter is at present with us doing cooking, and the eldest son is a veterinary surgeon. Another son is in the army, and another daughter is a dressmaker.

The Ainu have a good deal to say about eagles at 825
times, and the following legend is thoroughly characteristic and contains a very mine of old world lore.

7:Munro & Seligman D.E-4.5 (ca. 1900-1942) 1963
AB6 Ainu AB6

and performance of each rite as esoteric. Just as no man is permitted to have knowledge of a woman's secret girdle, so no woman is permitted to pry into the awe-inspiring secrets of religion, that of the Divine Wife being the most secret. Its performance is carried out under the name of Metot-ush Kamui, Ritual Salutation. Several elders told me that the worship of Metot-ush Kamui is ostensibly of that deity alone, but that anyone might include a *kamui* of his own choosing. Those who took part in a particular worship could claim mutual hospitality. This led me to make further inquiries, and I found that those who worship a particular *kamui* with this ritual claim descent from a common ancestor.[1] The members of the cult address each other in terms of relationship rather than those of formal politeness. The fact that the place-name of a local *kamui* is more prominent than its own name, always coming first in prayer, may indicate a common local source of lineage. Nevertheless, the rite does not provide conclusive evidence of blood-relationship, for an Ainu of good repute may be adopted by any group which possesses a secret ritual. It should be noted that in the worship of Metot-ush Kamui the winged libation wand is marked by the ancestral sign (*ekashi itokpa*). No stranger may use the ancestral badge but it may be given to an heir adopted by a childless man. The sign and rite are complementary, together constituting proof of blood relationship in Ainu eyes and justifying the warm mutual sentiment of the group. However, the winged libation wand is not used for the second secret ritual salutation of the *kamui*. After the libations and prayers to Metot-ush Kamui it is returned with the half-emptied cup through the sacred window. For the secret rites an ordinary libation wand is used, as it is for most *kamui*. Formerly the elder officiating at the ritual salutation stood with bare feet on the frozen ground or snow. This ceremony cannot be performed without the sacred beer, and the government probably tolerates the brewing of a small quantity.

While all these rites are being performed outside the house, only moderate drinking is allowed inside lest there should be a breach of decorum before the ceremony of Falling Tears. The etiquette of drinking (*iomare*) which is still strictly observed, is as follows. The

[1] *Pase ongami shine ekashi shinrit uko-koro* may be translated as: 'In the ritual salutation all have one *ekashi* in common with the ancestors', and *Kamui nomi epeka u-iri Kuru* as 'On account of this *Kamui nomi* ceremony persons are of the same family'. Similar expressions are used in connection with the women's secret girdles.—N.G.M.

SOCIAL ORGANIZATION

33: in March 1938, he spoke of matrilineal clans and totemism. This has now been disregarded, as no clear evidence of either clans or totemism has come to light, either from Munro's own material or from the work of other writers.[1] The matrilineal affiliation discovered by Munro applies only to females; it is not recognized by males. In March 1937 I made a communication to the Royal Anthropological Institute on the subject.[2] In it I mentioned female matrilineal affiliation, and, misled by Munro's notes, spoke of the Ainu having patrilineal clans, for which he produced no evidence; there are, however, patrilineal lineages. Munro found that some *ekashi* could trace their ancestors in the male line (*ekashi-ikir*) for as many as fifteen generations, while in spite of the importance of *kut* exogamy, women could not name theirs in matrilineal descent (*huchi-ikir*) beyond the uterine great-grandmother.

Huchi-ikir or *shine huchi-ikir* is the matrilineal kin group.
Ekashi-ikir is the patrilineal kin group.
Kemrit, literally blood veins, designates matrilineal relationship.
Shinrit indicates the ancestors in patrilineal ascent.
Iriwak means 'family' relationship.[3]

A childless couple may adopt a child to carry out the ancestral offerings and libations (*Shinurapa*). The adopted child should be of the same *kut* as the adoptive mother, but if no such child is available any child may be adopted and the *kut* must be changed. The change is usually brought about by altering the number of the cords or by shortening them. Munro recorded one adoption of a Japanese girl by an Ainu couple, and she was given the *kut* of the adoptive mother.[4]

That women could only trace descent back to the third generation seemed surprising, considering the importance attached to matrilineal descent and it might have been supposed that it was due to a breakdown in the system. However, the researches of

[1] Montandon, *La Civilisation Ainou*, Payot, Paris, 1937, p. 135, summarizes the evidence for traces of the existence of matriarchy. This, however, is not convincing.

[2] A brief summary appears in *Man*, April 1937: 76.

[3] Munro gave no indication as to what he meant by the word 'family' in this context.

[4] This refers to the adoption of a girl so that she may worship the ancestresses in the adoptive mother's *huchi-ikir*. For the adoption of boys see p. 151, but no mention is made whether adopted boys adhere to the exogamy rules dependent on their true mothers or on their adoptive mothers.

/772 cont./

842 hard it will be several years before they can have children. If
826 both mates have hard blood they are condemned to childlessness, and nothing can help them, not even the cures mentioned above. It is significant that in this case they are not permitted
[156] to turn to the shamans for help. These would definitely refuse to trouble the gods with such unclean affairs (ciachkire oruspe).

842 Sterility is not, however, something that should be punished
597 with contempt. A childless family usually adopts a child from
538 relatives. In the Ainu sagas and fairy tales it often happens that brave heroes who have always been successful in life and who have obtained a beautiful wife through great dangers and exertion, remain childless just because they were so powerful (we-nupuru). For children are ordinarily born only to the weaker (we cian) heroes of Ainu folklore.

841 Women who have no menstruation are recognized as sterile.
834 These are the so-called "pure" who are designated by the Ainu
589 as kiejsach machneku (that is, "bloodless"). These girls are strictly forbidden to have sexual intercourse with men, since they might by this find immediate death. Not long after my arrival among the Ainu /773/ a woman who had preserved her
[156] innocence till late in life, died. She had shamanic tendencies and had for a long time been a shaman, from which can be deduced that she had a more tender and more receptive nervous system than the other girls. Among the Ainu can be found women with whom menstruation stops in youth. These women are condemned to complete sexual abstinence. A woman was pointed out to me who, though she lived together with an old man and was considered his wife, slept apart from him for the above mentioned reason. This had been going on for many years.

886 Menstruation. The Ainu know that when menstruation
145 ceases that period of life begins for the woman when she is no longer capable of being fertilized. They were, however, unable to give me the average age at which this occurs. The Russian doctor N. Kirilov calculates this age to be 40 years.